

I am especially honored to be here with our keynote speaker, the Honorable Charles Hagel, Senator from Nebraska, who courageously served in Vietnam as a squad leader in the 9th Infantry Division. He is one of the seven U.S. Senators and nine Congressmen, members of Congress, who fought in Southeast Asia.

Today we honor all those who served in Vietnam—both the living and those who never came home.

A ceremony at this site brings to mind the images of the nearly three and a half million men and thousands of women who served in the Vietnam theater. It also brings into sharp focus the faces of mothers, fathers, young wives, and children who braved the uncertainty of that conflict, waiting with anticipation for the return of loved ones.

Our country did not treat any of you with the respect, support, and compassion you deserved. It was a shameful blot on our history to send our country's young men and women off to this terrible conflict and then use our soldiers as objects of blame for the divisive political struggle that ripped the nation apart for a decade.

The names inscribed on this monument are those of men and women who went to Vietnam with their futures ahead of them and who came back home only as memories to their loved ones.

More than 58,000 died and over 303,000 were wounded. The bloodshed was terrible, and the suffering has not ended. At least 80,000 of our ranks still suffer from severe service-connected disabilities; around 6 percent of our Vietnam War comrades suffer from drug abuse or dependence; 11 percent suffer from current alcohol abuse; many are homeless; and others still suffer from war-related psychological and physical problems.

This continuing heavy human toll demands that we Americans vigorously support the finest possible health care in our Veterans' Administration facilities and sustain strong outreach programs to assist Veterans suffering from drug and alcohol dependency and physical and emotional wounds. Our nation needs to make the sacrifice for those who sacrificed so much in Vietnam.

WHO WE WERE

Who were we, who went to war in Vietnam? We were young. Our average age was 19. 60 percent of those killed were 21 or younger. In my unit, B Company 2-7 Cav, 1st Cavalry division, almost all of the troops were between 18 and 22—basically young men who rapidly turned into hardened combat soldiers.

We represented the face of America. We were men and women, rich and poor. 11 percent of our ranks were African-Americans. 5 percent were Hispanic.

We were the best educated troops our nation had ever sent to war. 79 percent of us had a high school education.

Most of us were volunteers. Many of our best combat soldiers were drafted. More than 70 percent of our killed in action were volunteers. United by circumstance and choice, we risked our lives for fellow soldiers and country.

We paid a high price for service to our country. A grunt in the 25th Infantry Division had a 75 percent chance of being killed or wounded. One in four marines became a combat casualty. We suffered amputations or crippling wounds at 300 percent the rate of our world War II forbears.

We served honorably. 97 percent of us received honorable discharges.

We have been successful. Vietnam Veterans enjoy incomes higher than our non-veteran counterparts. We also have an employment rate $\frac{1}{3}$ higher than those who never served in the armed forces.

WHAT WE LEARNED

The Vietnam War officially ended in 1975, more than twenty-two years ago. For many

of us, nearly three decades have passed since our time in Vietnam. The historians may still be sifting through mountains of documents. However, most of us assembled here already know what we learned from the War.

1st—We must not commit our youth to war without the support of the American people. For in a democracy, lack of such support produces catastrophic divisiveness and weakening of national will, which are essential to winning.

2nd—We must not send our sons and daughters to war without a clear understanding of national aims and the costs for achieving them. For failing to articulate these requirements leads to flawed strategies and higher casualties.

3rd—Victory will be paid for in blood by the men and women who serve and by loved ones at home who must bear separations, recoveries from wounds, and ultimate sacrifices.

And 4th—As individuals, we learned that to survive and succeed when conditions are appalling and your life is on the line requires: moral and physical courage, competence, self-discipline, and trust in your buddies.

THE FUTURE

Our nation needs your help:

1st, Help Vietnam Veterans in need. Get involved in state, local, and Veteran organizations. offer your energy, time, money, and support.

2nd, Battle the evil of illegal drugs. Get involved in state, local, and community anti-drug efforts.

3rd, Improve your community. Get involved in other activities to make your community better. Our nation's leadership system works from the bottom up.

ENDING

We stand before this black marble wall with row after row of names and salute fallen comrades for their courage. We remember the worlds of poet Laurence Binyon, who wrote at the end of World War I:

"They shall not grow old, as we that are left grow old,

Age shall not weary them, nor the years condemn,

At the going down of the sun and in the morning

We will remember them."

Thank you Vietnam Veterans for your service to America.

SPEECH OF ANN CUNNINGHAM

Today is Veterans Day—a day set aside to honor the men and women who have served this country.

Today is also the 15th anniversary of the dedication of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial—the Wall—which at the time of dedication was scorned and ridiculed as a black gash of shame and today is the most visited of any Memorial in Washington.

Today is also the 4th anniversary of the dedication of the Vietnam Women's Memorial—which took 10 years to build and I feel would never have been built but for the tenacity and determination of Diane Carlson Evans. People ask me which of the three women remind me of myself. They all remind me of myself at one time or another, but the one I am most drawn to is the kneeling figure. If you look closely at her face you will see pain, sadness, exhaustion, and compassion reflected there. All the women who served in Vietnam and during the Vietnam War had these traits—from the nurse in the operating room, to the nurse in the ICU unit.

From the Red Cross women who read books and wrote letters for wounded GI's, to the Air Traffic Controllers who brought the planes home after their missions, from the women who counted and tallied up the cas-

ualties daily, to the women in Special Services.

Thirty years ago I was in Vietnam. I was a young, naive 22 year old, a year and a half out of nursing school when I joined the Army Nurse Corps. I was two and a half weeks out of basic training the day I landed at Bien Hoa Airbase with about half of my basic class and a greener 2nd Lt. you would never find.

I was a trained operating room nurse, but I had never seen a trauma patient, let alone a mass casualty situation. Needless to say in the next 12 months I saw many such situations. It was the best of times and the worst of times and it took me 15 years to talk about it. When the Wall was dedicated, I didn't even know about it because I didn't read about Vietnam or watch Vietnam movies.

When I did see the dedication on TV, part of me was sad that I wasn't there, but in 1982 I wasn't ready to face Vietnam.

I look at the Wall behind me and I see the names of people I know—Bruce Kennedy and Charlie Warner—I grew up with in Santa Monica, CA. We all went to school together.

I look behind me and I see the names of people I served with: Leroy Pitts, Al Gaidis, Zeddie Dulin, Chuck Springer, Lowell Morgan and Phil Schmitz.

I look behind me and I see the names of women who cared enough to volunteer to help other Americans: Carol Drazba, Annie Graham, Elizabeth Jones, Hedwig Orłowski, Eleanor Alexander, Pamela Donovan, Mary Klinker and Sharon Lane.

I look behind me and I see the name of Gary Jones, a person I loved very much. We went to Vietnam, I came back and he didn't.

I look behind me and I see the name of patients we were unable to save. One, I especially remember, he is engraved in my mind forever. I was able to find his family and I wrote them a letter. His mother wrote back and these were her words, "when we received word that our son was wounded, I wanted to go to him, to somehow be there for him, but I could not be there. That is a mother's worst nightmare. You will never know what it means to us to know that before he died, someone was there to care. Thank you for all you did."

I think of the friends who have died since Vietnam, whose names are not on the Wall, but maybe ought to be, of BT Collins, whose contributions to the living and the dead will live on forever and of Doug Colliander, who was a friend and died too soon.

I look behind me at the memorial and think of the friends who have been dead now longer than they lived and of the impact they made on my life.

To the veterans in the audience today, the veterans of World War I, World War II, Korea, Desert Storm, Somalia, Bosnia and Vietnam, especially Vietnam, I say "thank you for your service and your sacrifices for your country and welcome home. You are very special people."

INDIA FACES THREAT OF SELF-DETERMINATION, PROFESSOR SAYS, FACES NO EXTERNAL THREAT

HON. EDOLPHUS TOWNS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 12, 1997

Mr. TOWNS. Mr. Speaker, I noted with interest the recent remarks of Dr. Ainslie Embree, a professor at Columbia University, at a seminar on "India's Regional Security"

held recently at the Henry Stimson Center here in Washington.

Professor Embree stated categorically that India faces no external threat. The imminent threat to India is the movements for self-determination throughout the subcontinent, he said. He cited the freedom movement in Kashmir as the most immediate, but also cited the freedom struggles in Nagaland, Tamil Nadu, and Punjab, Khalistan. India takes the position that self-determination movements are only used legitimately against a colonial power, but that once a country is independent no part of that country can claim its independence, as the Sikh nation did on October 7, 1987, when it reclaimed its freedom, forming the separate, sovereign country of Khalistan. Sikhs ruled Punjab until the British annexation in 1849 and were to receive sovereign power in 1947 when India was made independent, so clearly it is now India that is the occupying colonial power in Khalistan, as well as Kashmir, Nagaland, and many other countries in South Asia. In fact, there was no political entity called India until the British created it in the nineteenth century.

Professor Embree said that India will have to resolve the Kashmir issue by letting the people of Kashmir exercise their political will through the referendum they were promised in 1948, but which India has never allowed to be held.

Despite facing no external threat, India is building up its military might, especially its nuclear capacity. Two Indian scientists admitted in mid-October that India's supposedly peaceful nuclear explosion in 1974 was a bomb. In addition, the chief of the Indian infantry said on October 23 that the Indian military is being trained in nuclear and chemical warfare. A secret report, revealed on October 16, shows that Indian plans to produce enough plutonium for 50 nuclear bombs within three years.

These frightening developments raise a troubling question: If India faces no external threat, why is it producing nuclear weapons and training its troops for nuclear war? There are only two possible answers. Either these weapons are a means of tightening the repression or India is planning to start a war with a neighbor, presumably Pakistan. I would warn India right now: The world will find any nuclear attack unacceptable and a war will only strengthen the hand of the freedom movements in the countries India occupies.

In light of these revelations, especially since India refuses to sign the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, India should be declared a nuclear threat to the world and appropriate security measures should be taken. We should place tough sanctions on India, cut off its aid, and support the movements for self-determination in Khalistan, Kashmir, Nagaland, and all the nations of South Asia. We must support freedom wherever and whenever we can. We can make a real difference in South Asia now.

I am inserting an article from the news service NNI on Professor Embree's remarks into the RECORD.

INDIA FACES INTERNAL THREAT NOT
EXTERNAL; AMERICAN EXPERTS
(By Ainslie Embree)

WASHINGTON, October 28 (NNI).—The only threat to Indian security is internal not external, and the internal threat is the "self determination threat," said Dr. Ainslie

Embree Professor Columbia University speaking at a seminar held at Henry Stimson Center Washington. The topic was "India's Regional Security". He was the key-note speaker.

Dr. Ainslie said India as well as Israel had been driving for commercial and cultural hegemony over the world. Focusing on Indian claims, he pointed out that in the brief 50 years of independence, India had already lost the role that the sub-continent played in the region during the Mughal and the British rules.

He said that during early days of independence Nehru defined India's problems as the communal problem, the caste problem and the language problem, but Nehru failed to mention the self determination as India's biggest problem. He said ironically, India itself was a big supporter of self determination in those days, and would support all the liberation movements against the colonial powers in Africa, Asia or Latin America.

India changed its position on self determination in 1966, said Dr. Ainslie. He said that since 1966 India pronounced the self determination movement as a movement against an alien occupation, foreign occupation or a colonial occupation only; and once a country was independent, no part of that country could claim independence, and thus no self determination movement was acceptable.

The first self determination example of South Asia is Pakistan, said Dr. Ainslie, adding Pakistan was the result of self determination movement by the Muslims of the sub-continent. He said apart from several self determination movements of South Asia stretching from Nagaland to Tamilnad to Punjab, the most important, most lasting one is the self determination movement of the Kashmiris.

He said India will have to resolve the Kashmir issue, even if it considers the UN resolution as an extreme position and impracticable, India cannot ignore the movement and will have to let Kashmiris exercise their will.

Dr. Ainslie emphasized that Kashmir is the core issue between Pakistan and India, and no one in Pakistan is interested in the small matters like visa or trade facility, while is not ready to accept the Kashmir problem as a problem.

On Siachen, Dr. Ainslie said that Pakistan's position was logistically better than India's, so that Pakistan had to spend much less than India. India is bleeding at Siachen, he added.

Dr. Ainslie Embree is also a member of Kashmir Study Group, and the team leader who recently visited Pakistan, where he met with Foreign Minister Gohar Ayub, Information Minister Syed Mushahid Hussain, Minister of State for "Agenda 2001" Ahsan Iqbal.

CONGRATULATIONS TO HORIZON ARMENIAN TELEVISION

HON. GEORGE P. RADANOVICH

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 12, 1997

Mr. RADANOVICH. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to congratulate Horizon Armenian Television on the occasion of their 1,000th show. Horizon signifies excellence in Armenian television broadcasting.

On Friday, November 7, Horizon Armenian Television celebrated its 1,000th show with a gala banquet at the Universal Sheraton in Los Angeles. As a statewide television program, it

is the largest and most watched Armenian television program. The show contains Armenian local, national, and international news. The hour-long program also includes cultural and community events along with Armenian music videos.

Horizon is administered under the direction of the Asbarez Armenian newspaper and Editor John Kossakian. I commend Mr. Kossakian for his work with the Armenian publication Asbarez and Horizon Armenian Television. In my district, which includes parts of Fresno, Madera, Mariposa, and Tulare Counties, the horizon show can be seen every Wednesday from 5:30 to 6:30 p.m. on Media One (local channel 42).

Mr. Speaker, it is with great honor that I congratulate Horizon Armenian Television as it celebrates its 1,000th show. The show signifies leadership in reporting Armenian news and information. I ask my colleagues to join me in wishing Horizon continued success with future programming. I extend to Asbarez and Horizon my appreciation for a job well done.

TRIBUTE TO THE BLACK ARCHIVES, HISTORY AND RESEARCH FOUNDATION OF SOUTH FLORIDA, INC., ON ITS 20TH ANNIVERSARY

HON. CARRIE P. MEEK

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 12, 1997

Mrs. MEEK of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I rise to pay tribute to the Black Archives, History and Research Foundation of South Florida, which is celebrating its 20th anniversary on Saturday, November 15, 1997.

This is indeed a milestone in the history of this organization, given the countless struggles and challenges that ushered its humble beginnings. And as I join my community in recalling the role of Miami's Black Archives Foundation, I also would like to honor Dr. Dorothy Jenkins Fields who serves as the catalyst behind its emergence as a respected institution. Almost singlehandedly, Dr. Fields helped turn around a neglected part of Miami's cultural heritage into a living, breathing lesson about the black experience in south Florida for students, adults, and researchers alike.

In preparation for the celebration of our Nation's 200th birthday, she conceived and developed the concept that hastened the establishment of this cultural institution. Incorporated on November 17, 1977, as a private, nonprofit organization, the Black Archives, History and Research of South Florida, Inc., is presently governed by a board of directors and supported by a board of trustees. Funded solely by its members, donations and grants, the foundation is dependent upon its volunteer help.

This institution serves as a manuscript/photographic repository of south Florida's African-American communities. The materials in this repository are collected for educational purposes for users, which include students, teachers, scholars, researchers, the media, and the public-at-large. The memories of the pioneers, family albums, photographs, documents, souvenir programs from churches and organizations are preserved in its burgeoning files. Additionally, it identifies historic sites for